l: Karsten--95 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
356 (1928-29)

"The roof (kambaṅaka), consists of plaited palm leaves, and in the tropical climate is liable to be attacked by insects and gradually destroyed, so it has to be renewed after the lapse of some years. In building a new house therefore the Jibaros observe the following custom. On the fire kindled in the new house no manioc or palm cabbage can be cooked until it has been purified by burning cedar wood (Cedrela herrerae), the smoke of which will penetrate the thatch and kill the insects existing in it. In this way the thatch, according to the idea of the Jibaros, is not only purified for the time being, but permanently. If manioc or palm cabbage is cooked in the new house before the said procedure, certain maggots, which easily develop in the manioc plant and in palm tops, will infest the thatch and soon destroy it. Until the house has been purified in the way indicated these kinds of vegetable food must be cooked in a special, small shelter outside the new house."

1: Karsten--96 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 356 (1928-29)

"The floor in a Jibaro house is the earth itself. No mats are used, but the natural floor is carefully kept clean by daily sweeping. This is all the more necessary as in a Jibaro house there are not only human, but also certain animal inmates. Thus the hens, although they are as a rule kept outside, make occasional visits in the house, and besides among the members of the family is generally found a tame paugi (Crax paugi) a trumpeter bird, or a parrot, who freely move about. In spite of this, to a stranger visiting a Jibaro house for the first time, it conveys on the whole the impression of cleanliness and sense of order, which are in fact among the characteristic qualities of the Jibaro Indians."

4: Up de Graff--197 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
515, 356

"After inspecting their huts, we decided that a small island which lay opposite the settlement would suit us better. It was not that their houses were vermin-ridden. On the contrary, like all naked savages who live in the tropics, they are kept far cleaner than those who have to go clothed, by their frequent immersions in the rivers and by the cleansing action of the sun and rain on their skins."

4: Up de Graff--206-207 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 356, 462

"In general the houses are clean, free from bad odours, and kept in good repair. The work is divided very [207] unevenly between the sexes, the larger share falling to the lot of the women. They do the cooking, spinning, packing, and have the care of the plantations (weeding is one of their heaviest tasks, for they have to fight against a persistent growth of thorny and poisonous plants, which harbour all manner of venomous insects). Finally, their most important duty is the daily chewing of the yuca root for giamanchi, the standard dish of every household."

12: Rivet--585 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 342, 356

The house proper is composed of a single room (1), sometimes divided by a transverse partition in the center; the floor is composed of the beaten earth, perfectly levelled and kept in a state of great neatness.

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1. At Macas, Reiss saw houses divided into three rooms by transverse partitions: the outer room served as a reception room, the central room as the kitchen, the rear room as the bedroom. Reiss, op. cit., page 330-331.

/331 cont./

354 [825] almost scorching the soles of the person resting. The smoke of the fire is supposed to provide protection against the mosquitoes, which are almost unbearable here. -- The center part of the 342 [353] tambo is kitchen, dining room, and common living room, in which pots and utensils are kept in the best order. Finally, in the semicircular, bulging part located at the back are the bed-
352 rooms of the families. A number of beds, similar to the couch
342 described above, each with a fire probably kept going all night, are placed symmetrically along the side walls. Each individual bed is bounded on three sides by rather high bamboo walls and open only toward the foot end, so that small sleeping cells, [353] so to speak, independent of one another, are formed. Each person living in the house has his own cell, on the walls of which is hung his private property, in the case of women cosmetic articles and ornaments in particular, packed carefully
342 in decorative bags. What is most striking during a visit to such
● 356 a house is the cleanliness and neatness with which the whole is maintained. everything stands in its particular place, is readily and surely available, and at the same time is fixed in such a way that it serves to decorate the room. -- The floor is level and tamped hard, like a threshing floor, and is absolutely clean. When I let some cigar ashes fall during my visit, one of the women came immediately to sweep the floor clean again. Not all the houses are equally large and stately; the same strict order and cleanliness which I have just tried to describe do not prevail in all, but even the dwellings that are not maintained as well seem an enviable stopping place to the traveler who has languished in the dirt of Hispano-American housekeeping for years.

515 The people are as clean as the dwellings, but this luxury in a warm climate among half-wild people is less expensive than among us. In general, it is sufficient that the whole family goes in the morning to the neighboring brook for a bath, for clothing
291 plays a very subordinate role. The men wear a cloth about two and a half spans wide, called itipe, around their loins, which is usually held fast by a broad belt (acachulu) plaited out of human hair. The women are wrapped in a larger cloth (tarache) which

335 cont.
better, forehead bands (tendemas), with neck and arm bands made of the teeth of monkeys and wild animals. The women wear richly decorated bindings around their hips, on the fringes of which are fastened rattles and clappers so that a loud noise is produced during the stamping dances. A weapons dance is performed, during which all the available zanzas, this is the name of the trophy heads, are paraded in triumph. The enthusiasm aroused by dancing, music, and drink is said to reach such a pitch that the weapons dance frequently ends in bloody seriousness.

When the supplies are gone and the intoxication slept off, the house built for the festival is deserted and left to decay -- unless after some time another family moves in and undertakes the repairs.

336/ A house must be deserted after a death, just as after such a festival. In order to be relieved of the inconvenience of moving and probably also out of superstitious fear of the dying, hopelessly ill people are ruthlessly exposed in the forest. A small hut of branches is built for them, some food is put nearby, and they are left to their fate.

If a war expedition is to be undertaken or if an important decision is to be made, the higher powers are called upon, and their suggestions are decisive. The Jívaro retires to the solitude of the forest, intoxicates himself on an infusion of poisonous lianas, and then considers the outcome of his deep dreams as a command of the gods. For this ceremony a prominent point is chosen, from which one looks down on the Sangay, which seems to play an important role in the religious beliefs of these Indians. And how could this surprise anyone, given the terribly beautiful spectacle presented by the black, barren, and open cone set upon the highest ridges. The volcano, 5,323 meters high, is continuously active, like Stromboli. Thick black clouds of ashes are spewed out with a thunder-like noise, accompanied at night by the most magnificent sheets of fire. From the highest peak to the forest region a brilliantly glowing strip of fire moves down the slope, rolling along like a stream of molten metal. Masses

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and to allow the inhabitants to see out and to fire at attackers. The interior of the dwelling is unpartitioned, constituting a single, long dirt-floored room with a doorway at each end. Floor plan dimensions of several houses were found to range from approximately 25 to 36 feet in width to about 40 to 60 feet in length. A representative house was 27 feet wide by 44 feet long with a maximum roof height of about 15 feet and with walls 7 feet high.

To protect the inhabitants from enemy attacks, the doorways (Figure 1, A, F) are closed with strong hand-hewn wooden doors or removable wooden posts locked into position with a crossbar. An extra layer of chonta palm staves is sometimes lashed to the house wall near the beds. This double wall covers the slits between the palm staves to protect sleeping members of the household from being shot by would-be nighttime assassins. If local feuding is at a particularly high pitch, logs may be laid horizontally against the inside of the house wall to form a breastwork about four feet high. Foxholes are also sometimes dug into the floor to permit firing from low points on the breastwork and to provide shelter for the women and children. A secret escape tunnel occasionally extends underneath the wall, coming up in the garden outside.

Houses ordinarily are occupied five to nine years, even though the gardens are abandoned more frequently, usually after three or four years' use. The chief reason given for abandoning the house after only five or six years is a scarcity of palm fire logs in the immediate vicinity. A dearth of wild game is often a supporting reason for early abandonment. If, however, palm logs and game remain plentiful, the dwelling is normally occupied until it starts rotting. The bases of the wall staves are usually the first parts to decay, but the house often is not abandoned until the roof begins to

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

leak. Occasionally, such leakage does not occur significantly until the ninth year of occupancy.

If structural decay alone forces abandonment of a house, the new one is constructed sometimes only fifty to a hundred yards away. More frequently, however, poor hunting conditions necessitate the construction of the new structure two or three miles distant. Sometimes the scarcity of game requires a move to a greater distance, ten miles or more. In the not infrequent cases when a man and his family flee the neighborhood to escape assassination attempts, the new dwelling may be erected forty to eighty miles from the previous site. The death of the male head of the household is also cause for abandonment.

Houses are constructed by the men. While most of the building work technically could be done by the dwelling owner himself, he is generally helped by one or two close male relatives living nearby. The transportation and erection of the main house posts are the only tasks requiring a larger crew. For this effort, the owner invites about half a dozen male neighbors to help him.

Posts, beams, roof and walls are all lashed firmly together with strips of inner tree bark. Proceeding painstakingly, a man usually constructs a large and impressive structure capable of withstanding not only the natural elements and enemy attack, but also critical evaluation by his neighbors. The size and quality of a man's house is regarded as a serious indication of his personal "power," *kakarma*.

A family averaging only about nine persons typically occupies these rather large houses. While to a casual observer the size of the house might seem excessive in terms of everyday needs, the large floor space is deemed essential for hosting visitors, who are often guests coming to drink and dance. Since dancing is never done outdoors, where persons would

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

nuts above the reach of small children. Occasionally a large wooden signal drum may be found leaning against a wall post. There are no other important permanent furnishings.

The spaciousness of the house is matched by its neatness and cleanliness. The women sweep both inside and outside daily with a short broom made by lashing together branches of the *hapimiuk* plant. The sweepings are put on a banana leaf and carried away in an old basket to be dumped in the forest.

Smoldering fires are maintained at the foot of all beds both in the men's and women's ends to heat the sleepers' feet especially during the nights, which are often chilly, depending upon the altitude and the weather. Those at the women's beds are also the household cooking fires (see Plate 10). All household fires are made by laying three thick palm logs so that their ends meet like the spokes of a wheel. Normally, the log ends smolder slowly, but when a pot is set upon their juncture the logs soon burst into flame. With such an arrangement, fire lighting and kindling is rarely necessary. At night, additional light is provided by burning a small torch or two of copal.

Subsistence

Each household has either a single large garden or several smaller ones. In the latter case, the house itself is usually located in the largest. Such gardens constitute almost the exclusive source of carbohydrates for the Jívaro, providing, in terms of calories, perhaps about 65 per cent of the diet. The cultivation of slowly maturing tuberous plants, especially sweet manioc (*Manihot utilissima*), which can be harvested over long periods of time, the absence of a distinct dry

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

context of a four-day feast and dance, *učі auk* ("child swallowing"), in which approximately half a dozen such girls participate together. Prior to the event the girls observe dietary restrictions for about a week, not eating the meat of any mammals or birds. The ceremonies take place in and near the house of the host, a father of one of the girls. On the first day the girls dance until midafternoon. Then they are given *tsentsemä* and are taken at nightfall to palm thatch lean-to's in the adjacent forest, where they will lie down to have visions and dreams of bountiful crops, chickens, and pigs. Meanwhile, the adults dance and drink in the house until dawn. The same procedure is repeated for three additional nights.

The most important use of hallucinogens in child-rearing, from the Jívaro point of view, is to assist a boy in seeing an *arutam* at a sacred waterfall, since his life is believed to depend upon it. This will be discussed in detail later (see pp. 135–39). Of all a boy's childhood experiences, nothing is considered to compare in importance with the experience. The power deriving from the acquired *arutam* soul is seen in Jívaro terms as an enculturating and socializing device, since its force is believed to promote almost all the valued aspects of character, including honesty, inclination to work, and intelligence; as well as to increase the actual knowledge of the child.

Training in work and skills conforms to the adult sexual division of labor. A girl from about the age of four to six is not expected to do much more than care for the baby, if any, while the mother is working in the garden or preparing beer in the house. She is instructed, among other things, to keep the infant from eating dirt and from being bitten by ants, and to rock it in its hammock. She is also supposed to sweep the house floor at least daily and throw out the accumulation of refuse.